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I Volunteer to Help (Myself)

How International Volunteering is Perceived by
Development Professionals



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Abstract

Volunteerism has been part of the development field for a long time, but has evolved from knowledge spreading to knowledge development through formal international development volunteer programmes. The purpose of this study is to see how development professionals perceive volunteerism to align with or further the sending organisation's aims. The data has been collected through semi-structured interviews with development professionals in Swedish sending organisations. The findings in this study have been analysed through a post-colonial view by the use of Freire and Mohanty. This study will conclude that while volunteerism can be beneficial on an individual level, there remains issues of power within volunteerism, often reflecting the larger issues of development.

Keywords: formal international development volunteerism, development, volunteers, development professionals, post-colonialism, oppression, situated knowledges

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Abbreviations

- BIFO Information for non-governmental organisations (Biståndsinformation för frivilligorganisationer)
- EU European Union
- EVS European Voluntary Service
- MUCF Myndighetet för ungdoms- och civilsamhällsfrågor
- NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
- SIDA The Swedish International Development Cooperation (Styrelsen för internationellt utvecklingssamarbete)
- SVS Swedish Volunteer Cooperation (Svensk Volontärsamverkan)
- UHR University Council (Universitets- och högskolerådet)
- UN United Nations
- UNV United Nations Volunteers

Those who authentically commit themselves to the people must reexamine themselves constantly... conversion to the people requires a profound rebirth. Those who undergo it must take on a new form of existence; they can no longer remain as they were.

Paulo Freire, 1996:42-43

1. Introduction

Volunteerism is seldom questioned as it is usually seen as something good. That someone is contributing with their time and knowledge without expecting to get paid - at first glance it seems both admirable and impressive. Volunteers have been part of the development field for a long time, and early volunteers worked in the Global South¹ as teachers and nurses, to help spread knowledge to the local population. Volunteers were expected to become part of the society in a way development professionals could not, as volunteers came with less money and no power, assumed to be guided by solidarity and the want for a better world. However, as the development agenda evolved and the view of knowledge in the Global South changed, so did the view on volunteerism.

Today, there are different ways to perform volunteer work, and many organisations offer tourists to volunteer as part of their vacation in the Global South. This volunteer tourism often involves shorter periods of work alternated with longer periods of vacation, which have been discussed lately as multiple reports show evidence of the problematics surrounding these trips.² Organisations in the development field often disagree with volunteer tourism, and instead offer formal international development volunteer programmes to facilitate knowledge development³ (United Nations Volunteers, 2015:xxv).

In 2001 the United Nations (UN) announced the year of the volunteer, to emphasise and bring attention to the important contributions to development that

¹ For the purpose of this study Global North and Global South should be understood as areas traditionally involved in development cooperation. These concepts are to be seen contextual and not geographically determined.

² See for example Hanson Pastran (2014), Guttentag (2009), and Simpson (2004).

³ Knowledge development should be understood to mean 'an understanding of development and global interdependence, as well as to encourage action for change' (Smith and Yanacopulos, 2004:661).

volunteers do every day (United Nations Volunteers, 2001). At this time they defined *volunteerism* as 'activities undertaken of free will, for the general public good and where monetary reward is not the principal motivating factor,' which was re-established in a report 2015 (United Nations Volunteers, 2001; United Nations Volunteers, 2015). This sounds reasonable enough, but is it really that simple? Do formal international development volunteer programmes really fit the greater interest of development? Are they helping, or are the Global North once again using the Global South for their gain?

1.1 Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to shed light on volunteer programmes, and how development professionals⁴ perceive volunteerism to align with or further the sending organisation's⁵ aims.

This study aims to explore formal international volunteer programmes in Swedish development organisations from the sending organisations' perspective, through the eyes of development professionals.

Research Questions:

How do development professionals in sending organisations in Sweden perceive:

- the aim of volunteerism?
- the professionalisation of volunteerism?
- volunteering as knowledge development?
- the issues with volunteerism?

This will generate an understanding of how volunteerism in Sweden relates to the development field, and how it can be understood as part of the sending organisations', as well as encourage reflections among the participants and the readers.

⁴ For the purpose of this study, *development professional* should be understood as someone who works with development cooperation, which means they have an employment and receive salary for their work.

⁵ For the purpose of this study, *sending organisations* should be understood as a Swedish-based organisation with an explicit development purpose, that organise some sort of volunteer programme. The organisation volunteers go to will be referred to as *receiving organisations*.

2. Background

Volunteerism has its roots in missionary activities undertaken during colonial times (Ehrichs, 2001). While the main motive back then was religious salvation, it changed with time and has focused on emergency relief since the beginning of the twenty-first century. The need for volunteers emerged during World War I and World War II, and the end of World War II saw the beginning of many organisations still active today (Ehrichs, 2001). Among the most famous volunteer organisations were the American Peace Corps initiated by John F. Kennedy in 1961 (Peace Corps, 2013), and the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) founded as a partner to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1970 (United Nations Volunteers, 2001). Other European countries soon joined them and both private and non-governmental organisations (NGO) put up programmes to send volunteers overseas (Ehrichs, 2001).

The Swedish International Development Cooperation (Sida) was created in 1965 and it took another fifteen years before the organisation Svensk Volontärsamverkan (SVS) was created in 1980 (Odén, 2006). It consisted of 60 non-profit organisations and movements that got funds from Sida to send young Swedes to work in the public sector in the Global South. In 1995 the organisation was merged with Biståndsinformation för frivilligorganisationer (BIFO), an organisation connecting volunteers in the field, and created the still existing Forum Syd. Forum Syd now consists of 160 member organisations from Swedish civil society and are continuing to facilitating volunteers.

Today, Sweden has a variety of options for an aspiring volunteer, even though many NGO's have discontinued their old volunteer programmes. One of these options is the Sida-funded Traineeship Program that allows development organisations to send volunteers to the Global South to learn about development

cooperation. The aim of the program is to 'broaden the Swedish base of resources, i.e. broaden the recruitment of young people who may work with development issues in Sweden or abroad in the future.' (UHR, n.d.:2). This is part of the Strategy for Capacity Building and Exchange 2014-2017⁶, and the Traineeship Program aims to support 'young people within higher education as well as in government agencies and NGOs in industry and civil society' (UHR, n.d.:2). The Traineeship Program is managed by the Universitets- och högskolerådet (UHR), who review the organisations applications and grant them the funds. In addition to this, Sida give monetary support to UNV although they have no intention to send Swedish volunteers to work for them.

As part of the European Union (EU), Sweden also has the possibility to participate in the European Voluntary Service (EVS). This is a program that sends volunteers across the EU and their neighbouring countries to work for accredited organisations (Myndigheten för ungdoms- och civilsamhällsfrågor, n.d.). It is fully funded by EU, but the volunteer has to create their own program by contacting a sending organisation and a receiving organisation by themselves. In Sweden, this is managed by Myndigheten för ungdoms- och civilsamhällsfrågor (MUCF). The difference between this and other volunteer or trainee programmes is that its main aim is to further cultural learning, thus it does not have the same stated development aim as the UNV, however, it is possible to use EVS to volunteer for development (Myndigheten för ungdoms- och civilsamhällsfrågor, n.d.).

⁶ Resultatstrategi för kapacitetsutveckling och utbyten 2014-2017, available at <http://www.regeringen.se/rapporter/2013/12/uf201378299udusty/>

3. Previous Research

This chapter will present existing research on volunteerism by first defining what volunteerism is and how it has evolved through the years. To avoid conceptual confusion volunteer tourism will be presented separately. Following, volunteerism within development will be presented, and volunteerism as knowledge development is introduced. The section will end with an overview of the volunteering experience, which will contribute to a broader understanding of the complexities of volunteerism.

3.1 What is Volunteerism?

The definition of *volunteering* has changed through the years. As mentioned before, the early volunteers were missionaries aiming to spread religious thoughts and ways of life. As the development agenda changed, so did the purpose of volunteers, and instead of religious salvation they were sent to contribute with knowledge through working as teachers, nurses and other public servants (Palmer, 2002). In a strictly economic sense, to volunteer is simply to work without receiving financial compensation (Ehrichs, 2001:2), but it is often more complex than that. Ehrichs (2001:2) argues that the work is often assumed to be done in the 'spirit of service, of altruism, of doing good for the sake of it not for material reward or even necessarily for recognition or praise.'

What constitutes as volunteering may vary a lot (Wilson and Pimm, 1996). Formal volunteers that are sent through organisations often follow the aim and policies of the organisation and their contributions are usually measured using organisational indicators (United Nations Volunteers, 2015:xxv). In later years the organisation have moved away for the term volunteers and instead replaced it with

more professional associated terms such as *trainee* or *intern* (Devereux, 2008:359; Schech, Mundkur, Skelton and Kothari, 2015:359). The UN still make use of the term volunteers, however, and to avoid confusion they reestablished the definition of volunteering in 2015, and surmised it to consist of an activity performed of free will, done for a greater good and without money and personal gain being the goal (Devereux, 2008:358-9; United Nations Volunteers, 2015:xiv).

Volunteer Tourism

In recent years the concept of volunteer tourism, or voluntourism for short, has emerged. Among the first to research the topic was Wearing (2001:1), who defined it as; 'those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment.' In short, it is a form of traveling where tourists spend part of their vacation doing unpaid work, mostly in countries in the Global South (Guttentag, 2009:538; Hanson Pastran, 2014:45). The programmes are often designed to fit a specific selling point of development, where the contributions of the tourist will give a clear result, and few voluntourism organisations require the voluntourists have any skills at all (Simpson, 2004). The needs of the poor are used as a promotion point and the slogans vary from 'teach the child' to 'conserve the forest' or 'build the bridge' (Simpson, 2004:685-686). Hanson Pastran (2014:49) argues that phrases like these 'implies that a Westerner, with little knowledge of the local contexts and resources, is somehow in a position to "teach" the local people how best to engage in development.'

In recent discussion regarding voluntourism, concerns have been raised that it is a colonial relic reinforcing existing inequalities and power structures, rather than offering any development (Hanson Pastran, 2014; Guttentag, 2009; Simpson,

2004). With voluntourism comes the idea that change is to be 'given', that the solution is external and the tourists are enabling change by simply being there (Hanson Pastran, 2014; Simpson, 2004). No further analysis of the impact of these short-term unskilled actions are made, or whether any needs are actually met (Simpson, 2004; Guttentag, 2009). Instead the overall idea can be surmised as 'doing something is better than doing nothing, and therefore, that doing anything, is reasonable' (Simpson, 2004:685). This simplified view is criticised by Hanson Pastran (2014), who argues that:

The lack of academic attention to the perspectives of host communities is telling of the assumptions that surround volunteer tourism; the host community is irrelevant in the equation of "development" that is simply, generously, and neutrally bestowed upon it by Western volunteers (Hanson Pastran, 2014:50).

In these short trips very little introductions or contextualisations are given, which further increases the problematic aspects of it. Simpson (2004:690) argues that 'participants are able to visit a world in which "luck" explains inequality,' rather than the structural inequalities of the world. This will cause the participants to confirm instead of challenge prejudices, and with the absence of self-reflexivity they are able to stay comfortably unaware of their privilege (Simpson, 2004; Smith and Yanacopulos, 2004).

3.2 Volunteerism in Development

While some of the issues with voluntourism are of course transferable to volunteering within development, there are also differences which complicate the comparison (Hustinx, Handy and Cnaan, 2012). As previously mentioned the voluntourism agencies are focusing on traveling, experiences and specific projects designed to make volunteers feel like they are contributing to a positive change (Simpson, 2004). However, when volunteering within development the volunteer

is often sent through an organisation with a development agenda.⁷ One of the largest volunteer organisations is the UNV, who state as part of their vision to 'reach a world where volunteerism is recognised, within societies, as a way for all people to contribute to and enhance sustainable development, peace and poverty eradication' (United Nations Volunteers, n.d.).

3.2.1 At its Best

The UNV-vision describes the outcome of volunteering in development as a way to mutually benefit the volunteer and the hosting community by performing necessary work that would not be done otherwise (Unstead-Joss, 2008). Devereux (2008:368) further argues that on a larger scale, volunteering creates a space where solidarity and cultural knowledge flourishes. Ehrichs, (2001:6-7) adds that unlike development professionals, volunteers are closer to the local people and organisations, and can therefore be argued to have a bottom-up approach of development, which puts them in a position where it is possible to critique the traditional development strategies. Furthermore, Scheh et. al. (2015:359) argues that the relationship building and connections that emerge between the volunteer and the host community may lessen ethnocentric ideas of development. This way long-term international volunteering can 'deepen the relational nature of development and the power of solidarity' (Devereux, 2008:358). Devereaux (2008) can find multiple ways to make volunteering within development a shared positive experience, and says:

Effective long-term volunteering for development is characterised by six important criteria: humanitarian motivation; reciprocal benefit; living and working under local conditions; long-term commitment; local accountability and North-South partnership; and linkages to tackle causes rather than symptoms. [...] Volunteers are accountable first to this local organisation

⁷ From this point onwards *volunteers* will refer to *international formal development volunteers*, meaning individuals that perform activities in a country other than their own, through a sending organisation with a stated development aim (United Nations Volunteers, 2015:xxv), unless stated otherwise.

and only more broadly to the agency facilitating their volunteer stint and its broad aims and objectives. (Devereux, 2008:359-360)

Ehrichs (2001) also point out that volunteering can be a way to understand how knowledge is locally constructed, and the cultural exchange will further the cross-cultural competence and sensitivity needed in the development field. Volunteers may be more susceptible to this, as they can be argued to be 'guided by a humanity', in contrast to the development professionals who are performing a job (Ehrichs, 2001:6).

As mentioned before, volunteers within development may sometimes be called trainees or interns, to move away from older perceptions of unprofessionalism and exploitative structures that was associated with volunteers (Devereux, 2008; Schech, et.al., 2015). Ehrichs (2001) adds that by professionalizing volunteering, the organisations gain status towards NGO's, governments and other actors. However, Devereux (2008) further argues that while this is all good, it is important to take the problematics of volunteering in development seriously. If unaware of the potentials pitfalls, the professionalisation may do more harm than good, which is discussed below.

3.2.2 At its Worst

While volunteering may limit gaps between the sending organisation and the receiving organisation and their contexts, it also risks reinforcing them. Ehrichs (2001) argues that by sending volunteers from the Global North they are part of the top-down approach, where the aim is for 'poor communities [to] become more like the North by adopting Northern ideas' (Ehrichs 2001:3). Volunteers have been expected to share knowledge, although often young and unskilled, but still assumed to be beneficial for the large mass of the poor. Thus, volunteers play well into the politically and economically powerful 'Northern-biased development agenda and dependency of the south' (Ehrichs, 2001:4).

Schech, et.al., (2015:359) argues that as the nature of volunteering is part of the neoliberal structures of the development industry, it can easily become exploitative and condescending. Devereaux (2008:358) writes that 'at its worst, international volunteering can be [...] a self-serving quest for career and personal development on the part of well-off Westerners.' This way the classic trap of trying to liberate from the outside will reinforce the inequalities that development cooperation claims to be working against.

Furthermore, in the absence of an inside perspective there is a risk of prejudice being reinforced rather than fought. Smith and Yanacopulos (2004) discuss how the representation of the Global South needs to be updated, and how development workers from the Global North play a significant role in what is being portrayed as development. They point out that 'the public faces of development do not exist in a vacuum' (Smith and Yanacopulos, 2004:660), referring to that previous knowledge, ideas and prejudices of the intermediary will matter. Thus, the volunteers may have a limited understanding of what they witness, yet their retelling of it may be taken as facts and affect the development programmes (Wilson and Musick, 1999; Wilson and Pimm, 1996).

Simpson (2004) argues that without reflection, volunteers from the Global North will generalise everything as cultural differences. This means that what may be consequences of the inequalities they should be fighting, is instead seen as a cultural difference and the stereotype of the 'happy but poor' is reinforced (Simpson, 2004). Simpson (2004) further questions the perception that by simply encountering the 'others', a cultural understanding will emerge, to which Ehrichs (2001:7) adds; 'little is made explicit about what the volunteer will learn beyond a generalised appreciation of foreign people in a foreign place.'

3.2.3 Volunteering as Knowledge Development

Smith and Yanacopulos (2004:661) discuss the concept of volunteering as knowledge development, which 'aims to bring about both an understanding of development and global interdependence, as well as to encourage action for change,' which they argue is a part of volunteering that is often overlooked in research. To be able to use volunteering as knowledge development many factors have to be considered. Enrichs (2001:9) argues that it can be done, but 'the ability to do this depends largely on the critical consciousness of the volunteer.' Factors such as speaking the local language may help the critical consciousness to develop, but to be able to look more broadly and understand 'what what one does does' takes commitment and a constant reflection (Enrichs, 2001). Smith and Yanacopulos (2004:659) agree and add that the perception of the 'others' will largely depend on how volunteers see themselves, rather than based on facts.

3.3 The Volunteering Experience

While every volunteer may have a personal reason for volunteering, Palmer (2002:638) finds that most of them fall under the wide concept of 'making a difference.' While this can be done both locally and internationally, the overall perception seems to be that the difficulties for individuals of the Global South is incomparable to the mere disadvantages in the Global North. Therefore, their help, love and concern is more needed in the Global South (Guttentag, 2009; Hanson Pastran, 2014; Unstead-Joss, 2008). These altruistic motives are often accompanied by more self-centred ones like gaining professional experience or a feeling of fulfilment (Wilson and Musick, 1999:142). Wilson and Pimm (1996:27) writes: 'benefits are a dominant decision factor in deciding to participate, although few volunteers would verbalize such a personal need for reward.'

In Unstead-Joss's (2008:9) research about different motives for volunteering within development she surmises that the most common ones are values, understanding, social factors, career, protection and enhancement. The complete immersion in other cultures and societies may also benefit volunteers in later life, as cultural competence is a well sought after qualification (Hanson Pastran, 2014; Palmer, 2002; Wilson and Musick, 1999). Palmer (2002:640) surmises that 'it is not at all unusual to feel that you are learning and absorbing more than you could ever give in return.'

Even if the explicit motives for volunteering entails gaining knowledge and creating connections between the Global North and the Global South, in the context of volunteering, global structures are impossible to ignore (Wilson and Musick, 1999:168). Schech et.al. (2015) argues that volunteers often entitle themselves as global citizens. However, they add that '...implicit in the idea of global citizenship is the notion that it is those of the Global North who are capable and empowered enough to act' (Schech et.al, 2015:361-362), meaning that this self entitlement may be blindness to their privilege.

3.4 This Study

To contribute to the overall picture of volunteerism, this study focuses on the way volunteerism is used by organisations with a specific development aim to develop the knowledge of the volunteer, as was mentioned by Smith and Yanacopulos (2004) above. In found previous research, this topic has rather been an unexpected bonus than the aim of the research, and therefore not discussed further (Smith and Yanacopulos; 2004). Thus, this study contribute to a better understanding of how volunteering is used as knowledge development, what possibilities and problematics it brings, and how it relates to the development field.

4. Theoretical Framework

This section starts with positioning the study epistemologically as social constructivistic, as it sets the boundaries for ontological and epistemological assumptions which ultimately influences what kind of conclusion can be made. Further, post-colonialism will be presented, followed by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996), and the chapter will end with a presentation of situated knowledges through Indian post-colonial feminist Chandra Mohanty (2003).

Post-colonialism will provide a critical framework on development, which as shown in the previous research is closely connected to volunteerism. Following, Freire will contribute with a pedagogical understanding of oppression, which will give further insights to the possibilities of using volunteering as knowledge development. When Freire's ideas was first published in the 1970's, his thoughts was revolutionary and influenced educators both in the Global North and South (Weiler, 1991). As his thoughts was developed before social constructivism and post-colonialism emerged, it is intriguing to see how they are still relevant today and how they interact with the contemporary post-colonial ideas. It is further relevant to revisit Freire's pedagogy in relation to volunteerism as it allows a discussion on how a system of oppression can be fought by those that simultaneously benefit from it (Enrichs, 2001; Weiler, 1991), as well as how volunteers can use the experience to develop their understanding and knowledge of oppression.

To add to Freire's ideas, the chapter will end with the conceptualisation of situated knowledges. It will give a further idea of the importance of knowledge creation in post-colonialism, and how situated knowledges can be applied in the struggle against oppression.

4.1 Social Constructivism

Though social constructivism includes many branches, most social constructivists agree that 'knowledge and social phenomena are socially constructed; but that does not mean external phenomena (including existing material social constructions) cannot influence our interpretations' (Sayer, 2000:91). This means that social constructivism does not claim nature to be non-existing, though our behaviour shapes the meaning of nature. Kukla (2000:3-4) writes that even if a concept exists in nature that 'doesn't make [it] any less of a construction: if a complex pattern of human activity had been different, we wouldn't have fashioned that particular natural-kinds concept.' This means that even if a phenomena would have existed in its 'natural' form, we would not understand it as we do now 'if a certain pattern of intentional human activity had not taken place' (Kukla 2000:4). Luckmann (2008:280) points out that 'the social sciences investigate a world that does have something to say, which in fact, was saying something long before there were any scientists listening.' For instance, oppression has existed throughout the history of humanity, but have not been questioned as the oppressors were 'natural leaders.' Thus, the 'nature' of things are challenged, as it would not exist without human interpretation (Luckmann, 2008).

Furthermore, Luckmann (2008:287) points out that knowledge is created in all social interactions, by conscious or unconscious memories becoming part of the human 'stock of knowledge.' This way individual claims can become a socially acknowledged truth (Luckmann, 2008:281-7), which can be interesting to keep in mind when looking at constructions like the Global North and Global South.

Social constructivism argues all knowledge to reflect the referent, which is why it is pertinent to look at the representation within the knowledge creating community. As Hekman (1997:343) argues, 'it follow[s] that the dominance (ruling) group in society will lave its perspective as "real" and reject other

definitions.' The issue of power relations in knowledge development becomes central, since as long as researchers from the Global North is the dominant group, the presented reality is unlikely to change. This may result in constructed definitions being presented as real, leading to a categorisation that excludes those without access to the development of knowledge (Sayer, 2000:86).

4.2 Post-Colonialism

In the 1990's the idea of a truly decolonised development theory originated and post-colonialism emerged. Although it is influenced by Marxism and post-structuralism, its discourse differs from most of the other theories as it radically 'rejects established agendas and accustomed ways of seeing' (McEwan, 2014:138). While the Global North during colonial times used weapons and violence to ensure power and superiority, today the brutality has been exchanged to the refined and less obvious discourse (Loomba, 2005). In essence it analyses the legacy of colonialism, and the way knowledge is being used as a way to sustain the hierarchies, as well as challenging the definition of development in previous theories, and the ethnocentrism that comes with it (McEwan, 2014; Jönsson, Jerneck and Arvidsson, 2011). Post-colonialism also presses the point of the historical hierarchy that pervades all development, meaning that the discourse is socially constructed from Northern values, and may not be at all translatable to the Global South (Jönsson et.al., 2011).

Post-colonialism often focuses on linguistics, as the way the development discussion is held excludes those without part in the configuration of the language (McEwan, 2014). One example of this is the way 'the Third World' has been used, implying these countries are underdeveloped and signalling a distance in both space and cultivation (McEwan, 2014). The same issues arises with the word

'donor' that can be perceived as containing the North-South power relation, which is why many today prefer 'development partners' (Mawdsley, 2014).

In his famous post-colonial work *Orientalism*, Edward W. Said (2000) says that the Global North portrayed 'the Orient' as an uncivilised and retrograding part of the world in order to give the Global North continued reason to keep them inferior, thereby legitimate aid and keep their power (Said, 2000; Sheehi, 2001). Said also points out that knowledge can be used as power, and even if globalisation helps to spread knowledge 'the power to name, represent and theorise is still located in the West' (quoted in McEwan, 2014:137). McEwan (2014:138) agrees and says that as 'the text of development contain silences. It is important to ask who is silenced, and why?' When applying a post-colonial approach to development literature the underlying power structures can be brought into light by the writers' backgrounds from the Global North and the absence of perspectives from the Global South (McEwan, 2014).

Post-colonialism has also brought around a discussion in the pedagogical field that sheds light on how discourse is used to facilitate learning, as this is arguably the core of knowledge production (Phillips, 2001). Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (first published 1970) addresses issues of power discussed by many researchers before and after him. While his ideas developed before post-colonialist theory emerged, Giroux (2009) argues that 'what has been increasingly lost in the North American and Western appropriation of Freire's work is the profound and radical nature of its theory and practice as an anticolonial and postcolonial discourse' (Giroux, 2009:79). Silverstone (2001:199) agrees that it is impossible to deny the post-colonial connection, as Freire's 'diagnosis of oppressive regimes bears direct relevance to the situations of colonised people', which is discussed below.

4.3 Freire and Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Freire was a Brazilian educator, politician, writer and social theorist (Silverstone, 2001). Weiler (1991:455) describes Freirean pedagogy as; 'based on assumptions of the power of consciousness raising, the existence of oppression and the possibility of ending it, and the desire for social transformation.' This makes this ideas relevant for this study, as it is relevant to view in relation to the volunteer's ability to use volunteering as knowledge development. Freire (1996) claimed domination to be defining our time, and therefore aimed his pedagogy to counteract the domination in the society with the ultimate goal to end oppression by a total reformation of society (Freire, 1996; Silverstone, 2001:198).

4.3.1 Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Freire (1996) discusses the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed extensively. He argues that the act of oppression itself is an act of violence, thus it is always initiated by the oppressors, as 'there would be no oppressed had there been no prior situation of violence to establish their subjugation' (Freire, 1996:37). To end oppression, the oppressors as a dominant class needs to be erased, but this cannot be done by the oppressors, as Freire (1996) argues that they can never find the strength to liberate either themselves or the oppressed. The few attempts that have been made are often done in 'false generosity,' meaning that the attempts have to be insincere as an injustice needs to be present for the generosity to occur (Freire, 1996:26). He writes that:

In order to have the continued opportunity to express their "generosity", the oppressors must perpetuate injustice as well. An unjust social order is the permanent fount of this "generosity", which is nourished by death, despair, and poverty. That is why the dispensers of false generosity become desperate at the slightest threat to its source (Freire, 1996:26).

Freire (1996) also discusses the humanity of the individual oppressor. Though benefitting from a system of oppression, to discover themselves as oppressors can be an uncomfortable experience, although not uncomfortable enough to feel true solidarity with the oppressed. Freire (1996:31-32) writes that 'rationalizing his guilt through paternalistic treatment of the oppressed, all the while holding them fast in a position of dependence, will not do.' Instead he argues that true solidarity means seeing the oppressed as individuals, and to reach true solidarity the oppressor needs to fight at the side of the oppressed, to reform the society and acknowledge the injustice that these individuals have been victims to. The alternative, 'to affirm that men and women are persons and as persons should be free, and yet to do nothing tangible to make this affirmation a reality, is a fare' (Freire, 1996:32).

Freire (1996) further discusses the implications of ending oppression for the oppressors. He defines oppression as 'an act [that] prevents people from being more fully human' (Freire, 1996:39), which means that to restrain the former oppressors from becoming dominant again does not make oppression. Neither does it mean that the formerly oppressed is now oppressors, as the 'acts which prevent the restoration of the oppressive regime cannot be compared with those which create and maintain it' (Freire, 1996:39). Although, this is rarely understood by the oppressors, whose feelings Freire (1996) describe like this:

...the former oppressors do not feel liberated. On the contrary, they genuinely consider themselves to be oppressed. Conditioned by the experience of oppression others, any situation other than their former seems to them like oppression. [...] For the oppressors, "human beings" refers only to themselves; other people are "things". For the oppressors, there exist only one thing: their right to live in peace, over against the right [...] of the oppressed to survive. And they make this concession only because the existence of the oppressed is necessary to their own existence (Freire, 1996:39).

Thus, the oppression needs to be ended by the oppressed, as the oppressors will neither see the necessity of it, nor understand the ways of which it has to be done. As the oppression will not end by a simple reversal of oppressors and oppressed, a new way of human interaction needs to be created (Freire, 1996:26; Weiler, 1991:452). A central part of Freire's pedagogy is the concept of conscientization, where the oppressed realises their oppression and commits to end it. It is through the shared experience of oppression that the oppressed will realise their power to define their reality, thus create knowledge true to them, and use it to end the oppression (Silverstone, 2001:200; Weiler, 1991:454, 463).

4.3.2 Comfortable Knowledges

A challenge that Freire (1996) as well as other post-colonialists tackles, is how to address the lingering colonial discourses that keep privilege and oppression alive (Giroux, 2009:85). In a situation of oppression, the oppressors are the definers of knowledge, as they are the dominant social group. The act of knowing is thus taken from the oppressed, and 'what they themselves know, what they have learned from their historical, political, and social realities, is deemed useless' (Silverstone, 2001:199). Freire argues that the traditional educational tools are designed to further the oppression, and deny the oppressed to be an 'active participant in the creation of knowledge' (Silverstone, 2001:199). He continues to say that pedagogy entails the 'generosity of paternalism,' which may be understood as the egoistic interest that the oppressors have in the way the pedagogy is designed (Freire, 1996:36).

Freire (1996) acknowledges that this self-reflexivity may be difficult to obtain, and says that it was by travelling the world that he finally saw his own context clearly. It opened his eyes and helped him discover his own identity (Freire and Faundez, 1989:13). He argues that to be able to challenge perceptions and boundaries, one needs to leave home. While this can be understood as leaving

ones home-country, he rather argues that to leave home is to leave comfortable knowledges and ideas of the mind, and travel to understand realities of others.

In Freire's (1996) pedagogy he calls for a complete recall of society, initiated by the oppressed, as the oppressors are unlikely to freely give up the privilege of dominance. However, Freire has been critiqued for failing to acknowledge his own privileged position, and a lack of understanding for what is called the 'nonsynchrony of oppression' (Weiler, 1991:453). The assumption that all struggle against oppression is one and the same, leaves out the many layers of oppression that exists (Weiler, 1991:469). Thus, to complement Freire's pedagogy, Mohanty's (2003) concept of situated knowledges is included.

4.3 Mohanty and Situated Knowledges

Chandra Mohanty (2003) argues that all knowledge is situated, which means that marginalised groups have a place in society that enables them to see structures that the non-marginalised cannot. This is because the privileges held by the non-marginalised 'nurtures blindness' and therefore the perspective of the marginalised is best understood as part of the group (Mohanty, 2003). In her discussion of epistemic uncertainty among researchers in the Global North, Sholock (2012:710) acknowledges the difference between 'not knowing that you do not know and knowing that you do not know.' She argues that it is necessary to be aware of this uncertainty, and that it can only be done thorough self-reflexivity and acknowledgement of ignorance (Sholok, 2012). Mohanty (2003:90) furthers her reasoning by saying that 'being home' refers to the place where one lives within familiar, safe, protected boundaries, thus 'not being home' is a matter of realising that home was an illusion of coherence and safety, based on the exclusion of specific histories of oppression. Thereby, Mohanty (2003) and Freire

(1996) agree that the researcher needs to acknowledge the repression of differences even within oneself.

However, Mohanty (2003) argues that to simply situate research as from the Global North risks a continued knowledge production with a partial perspective (Mohanty, 2003; Sholock, 2012; Walby, 2000:199). Walby (2000:200) argues that 'to simply embrace difference is to endorse existing inequalities.' This reasoning is further developed in Mohanty's (2003:239) 'Feminist-as-Tourist Model', a pedagogical perspective she describes like this:

This is a perspective in which the primary Euro-American narrative of the syllabus remains untouched, and examples from non-Western or Third World/South cultures are used to supplement and "add" to this narrative. [...] This strategy leaves power relations and hierarchies untouched since ideas about center and margin are reproduced along Eurocentric lines (Mohanty, 2003:239).

This illustrates the power of categorisation, and the danger of comparing concepts without contextualisation (Mohanty, 2003:149), which again shows the danger in Freire's inability to see multiple oppressions. Oppressed groups might experience similar marginalisation in different areas, as geography is not the reason for the oppression, but universal labels will always be faulty (Mohanty, 2003:143). Instead Mohanty (2003) argues that the discourse and thereby the representation of the Global South needs to be completely revised. She says that 'the physical and symbolic separation of the races was deemed necessary to maintain social distance and authority over subject peoples,' and argues that this can still be visible in the post-colonial discourses that often describe the 'problems' and the 'needs' but rarely mentions any choices or freedoms (Mohanty, 2003:31, 59). The way men from the Global North is portrayed as optimal and 'natural' leaders is thus a relic from colonialism, when it was necessary for the oppressed to see them as such, in contrast to the colonised people who were deemed 'incapable of self-government' (Mohanty, 2003:59).

5. Methods

This study was conducted by the use of qualitative methods, to be able to answer the research questions. As existing theories is used to analyse the findings, this study has a deductive approach. This chapter will start by describing the research design; sampling, interviews and transcriptions, and continue to describe the participants, and will end with a discussion on validity, ethical consideration, and limitations.

5.1 Research Design

5.1.1 Sampling

To be able to participate in this study the participants needed to have experience working with a sending organisation, and have some knowledge or insights about existing or previous volunteer programmes. To make the interviews possible the participant needed to speak Swedish or English. I preformed a snowball sample where I contacted people from sending organisations by sending out e-mails to contacts found online, and asked if they or anyone they knew would be interested in participating. In many cases I was given the name of a colleague that had the appropriate knowledge. During interviews multiple participants recommended other development professionals in their network, but I restricted my research to fourteen participants due to time limitations.

5.1.2 Interviews

By addressing volunteerism from the development professionals perception, their previous knowledge will influence the answers they give. As 'the sheer amount of information observed by the human senses places restrictions on the human's

ability to process everything at once' (Baron & Byrne 2000:80, 136), humans' perceptions are ultimately chosen by them. This is key in this research, as what the development professionals choose to see is what is researched.

Bryman and McNiff (2004) describe unstructured interviews as one of the most usual qualitative methods. While using it to collect data, the researcher is allowed to have loose and flexible themes, and the interviewee is allowed to more or less set the course of the discussion (Bryman and McNiff, 2004). Czarniawska (2004) discuss interviews from a broader perspective and brings up the important issue of ethics in every interview situation, and the factors of perception that are included in interviews. Both the researcher and the interviewee are influenced by their background, but this can be an asset as their previous knowledge might be of value in the data collection. As the data is to be seen as a sample of reality and not as unquestionable truths, the background of the interviewee might contribute to their sample (Czarniawska, 2004).

In this study interviews was used, as the aim of the study was to consider the participants own perspectives. An interview-guide was prepared to guide the interviews, but most emphasises was but on the themes as they would be used to facilitate the analysis.⁸ The themes were drafted from issued brought up in previous research and corresponds with this study's research questions. As the interviews did not follow the same order, the data collection ended up very similar to unstructured interviews (Bryman and McNiff, 2004:46). However, as there were an interview-guide prepared and themes were used throughout the data collection, it indicates a semi-structured approach (Bryman, 2012). Thus, the data collection may be best describes as semi-structured with open-ended questions, allowing the participant to choose the direction of the interview while sticking to the themes.

⁸ The interview-guide can be found in Appendix 2. Please note that the questions may have varied, changed order or been rephrased, in the different interviews.

I allowed the participants to decide a time and place for the interview, which meant that multiple settings were used. Five of the interviews were held via Skype and one was a written interview via e-mail. The length of the interviews varied from thirty-five minutes to an hour, which meant that the amount of information the different participants gave varied. However, considering the research question and the criteria for participating, this did not affect the comparability. All of the participants chose to speak Swedish during the interviews and all of the interviews were recorded and transcribed.

5.1.3 Transcription

The interviews were recorded to enable transcription and thereby facilitate the analysis (Bloor and Wood, 2006). The transcriptions were done by the author, from the recordings of the interviews. When transforming conversation into word, information indicated in other ways than words are not mediated (Bloor and Wood, 2006). Though, for the purpose of this study, the data consisted of the actual words rather than how it was said, so the transcriptions were done word for word, only noting long pauses, hesitation and laughter. Thereby information given through tone, volume and body language was lost. The transcriptions were done in Swedish, as this was the language spoken during the interview, and the completed transcriptions of all interviews was approximately 72 000 words.

For the purpose of the study, the only translations made are the quotes used in the text. All of the quotes from participants were translated by the author, and the original quotes can be found untranslated in Appendix 1.

5.2 Participants

To ensure anonymity I will not include individual presentations of my participants, neither will the participants be linked to an organisation. Instead, each participant has been given a code (P1, P2 etc.) that will be used to indicate who has said what in the result and analysis. The codes were given randomly and do not represent any order. Since the interviews were held in Swedish, the quotes in the result and analysis chapter have been translated by the author. To ensure accountability each quote has been given a number that correlates with the untranslated quote found in Appendix 1. In the translation of the quotes they have been neutralised, which means that places and names have been left out to avoid readers being able to link the quote to an organisation.

The fourteen participants of this study have experience working with volunteer programmes and/or development cooperation. The aim has been to research the topic through the perception of development professionals, but as they have connections to different sending organisations it is probable that their perception is affected by their current or previous workplace. However, for the purpose of the study this does not compromise the authenticity of the data, as it is part of their perception.

The participants in this study work or have worked at: Action Aid, Afrikagrupperna, Erikshjälpen, Forum Syd, Individuell Människohjälp, Latinamerikagrupperna, Myndigheten för ungdoms- och civilsamhällesfrågor, Peaceworks, Pingstmissionens Utvecklingssamarbete, Sida, Svenska Kyrkan, and Union to Union.

5.3 Method Discussion

In qualitative research, quality and validity can be difficult to determine as there are seldom absolute truths but instead many angles and options (Bryman, 2012:271). To ensure the validity of qualitative study, Bryman (2012) discuss the concepts of credibility, transferability and dependability, as well as educative authenticity. By the use of these concepts, it should be clear that the participants are able to confirm the findings, that a clear context is given to the reader, and that all records should be kept so that if needed they can be checked. A study is deemed to have educative authenticity if it encouraged the studied to appreciate other angles of the topic (Bryman, 2012).

In this study, the credibility can be argued to be good, as the same themes were discussed with fourteen participants and the respondents validated each others answers without having heard each other. As the background and contextual information in the analysis will provide a contextual knowledge about the studied topic, and the sampling section showed what criteria was used to find participants, transferability has been assured. All the recordings, transcriptions, e-mails and notes have been kept to ensure dependability. Furthermore, the study can be argued to have educative authenticity as it can be used for the participants to reflect on the concept of volunteerism from an angle that may not have considered before.

During this research I have followed the ethical directions from Vetenskapsrådet (n.d.) guide on how to conduct ethical qualitative research. This means that all of the participants have participated of their own free will, with the knowledge that they could revoke their participation at any time. They were informed about the topic of the research and were all aware that the interviews were recorded and assured that it is only accessible by the author. They were all offered to read the finished report.

5.4 Limitations

In the interviews the participant was encouraged to talk freely as I found the paths they chose to be informative, as discussed above. Though, as the themes were constructed by me, the way they were phrased was undoubtedly biased. It is important to remember that the data does 'not exist independently of the medium through which they are interpreted' (May, 2001:28), especially when researching qualitative questions where personal perceptions are of importance.

The result is dependent on the chosen research design, and by conducting semi-structured interviews I knew that the answers would vary and the interviews would take different paths. However, I do not believe that I could have researched this topic in any other way without changing the purpose of the research. The sampling of participations creates an additional limitation as I was dependent on those willing to take part in the study. The insight of the topic among participants is, as mentioned, also likely to depend on the participant's professional experience and current position, and may be influenced by current or previous employers.

5.5 Reflections

As I am a citizen of the Global North, it is important to position this study as from a Global North perspective. Even so, I have written about inhabitants in the Global North as 'them', to avoid confusing others opinions with my own. Furthermore, this study has been conducted as a part of my education within Development Studies, which have influenced the choices of theories and perspectives and thereby the conclusions that have been drawn. Both Freire and Mohanty represent researchers from areas traditionally included in the Global South, thus their knowledge can be argued to be situated from that perspective, which was a conscious choice.

I have not participated in any volunteer programmes myself, neither have I worked in a sending or a receiving organisation. When conducting this research I learned a lot about the different traditions of volunteerism, how they have developed and how the sending organisations perceive obstacles and opportunities within volunteerism. Furthermore I became aware of the complexity of it all, and I faced my own preconceptions on the topic. In the beginning I assumed all volunteering to be done with altruistic motives, rather than for educational purposes, and was wondering if the sending organisations shared those altruistic motives when facilitating the trips. When reading the previous research it did however become clear that it was not the main aim with the trips and I had to reevaluate my assumptions. During the study I found many interesting angles that would be interesting to examine more thoroughly, but I limited myself to the chosen research questions.

When conducting this study I repeatedly had to stop and reflect on the topic. I was wondering if it was at all possible for me to conduct this research, as I was not part of either of the involved parties. In the end I found that my non-involvement could be a strength if constantly reflected upon, but I had to be careful not to draw conclusions based on my own assumptions. Besides, even without direct involvement in volunteer programmes, I can be argued to be part of the structure that enables them, and therefore it is impossible to actually have an 'outside' perspective. Furthermore, in a social constructive view my previous knowledge will always influence what I see, which further makes it impossible to be a true 'outsider', as objectivity is impossible.

6. Results and Analysis

The presentation of the results and analysis begins with some contextual information found in the study, as this gives the reader an idea of the structure of the programmes referred to in the rest of the chapter. As the study investigates international volunteering from the sending organisations' perspective as perceived by development professionals, the following part will answer the four research questions under each corresponding theme. The participants view on the structure and aims of their organisations programmes will be shared in Theme 1: Aims of the Programmes; and Theme 2: Professionalisation of Volunteerism; and further insights to knowledge development and outcomes will be shared in Theme 3: Volunteering as Knowledge Development; and Theme 4: Issues with Volunteerism.

It is important to note that though the themes correlate with the research questions and the interview guide, they are constructions by the author to facilitate the findings and therefore they constantly interact. As social constructivism is the over arching epistemology it will be mainly utilised in the discussion in chapter 7, where the larger structure of volunteerism will be considered.

6.1 Contextual Information

As mentioned before, this study involves fourteen participants, representing twelve organisations. All of these organisations have some sort of program involving volunteering, though they vary in concept. All of the programmes are designed for young adults (ages from 17 to 30), but one organisation also offered volunteering for adults (ages 50 and up).

Nine of the programmes are part of the Traineeship Programme,⁹ although at least two of the organisations have additional programmes with other funding. Two programmes are self funded, which means that volunteers pay for their experience, and one programme is funded by EU.

The scope of the programmes are very different, depending on the organisation and its aim. Most of the programmes send eight to ten volunteers per year, but it ranged from two to seventy volunteers. In most programmes the volunteer was away for approximately five months, two programmes allowed volunteers to stay a year, and in some cases shorter programmes were allowed.

In two programmes volunteers were part of residential colleges for adult education (folkhögskolor), which meant that the programme was part of a one year educational programme, but all programmes had some introductory days with the sending organisations. Programmes within the Traineeship Programme encouraged volunteers to attend Sida's week-long introductory course as well. During their programmes a few organisations require volunteers to perform tasks, usually consisting of documentation or information sharing. Most of the sending organisations want volunteers to continue their voluntary work back in Sweden with information spreading and other similar tasks. About half of the programmes allowed the volunteer programme to be performed as an internship within higher education.

6.2 Theme 1: Aims of the Programmes

As previously stated, the sending organisations' volunteer programmes have specific aims, although they often align with the aim of the organisation. The

⁹ Programmes funded by Sidas Traineeship Programme entitle their participants 'trainees.' In this chapter I will use 'volunteer' as an umbrella term to keep the anonymity of my participants. The importance of the terminology will be further discussed in the text.

Traineeship Programmes all have an overarching goal set by the Strategy for Capacity Building and Exchange, which is to strengthen the capacity among future development professionals (UHR, n.d.:2). Although this is the overall strategy, the organisations all have chosen to participate in the programme for different reasons, and therefore often have additional aims specific to their organisation. A few of the aims shared by participants include; raising awareness about the causes the sending organisation work with, promoting activism, increasing interest in development cooperation, intercultural learning, giving Swedish people an insight to the struggles of oppressed groups, and to improve the relationship between the sending and receiving organisations¹⁰.

6.2.1 Mobilising Members

In addition to the aims stated above, ten of the participants agreed that involving the members of the sending organisations was an important goal.¹¹ Furthermore, Devereux's (2008:368) argument about volunteering creating a space where solidarity and cultural knowledge flourish, is something also shared by the participants. One of them says that the experiences gained from volunteering will give the volunteer both a better understanding of the work the sending organisation do and a stronger loyalty to them, and another participant points out that volunteering is a way to understand that solidarity involves much more than monetary donations. The latter participant continues by arguing that volunteers will understand the importance of mobilisation in order to promote change, which two other participants agree with as they can see it is very inspiring for the volunteer to understand the role of the receiving organisation in a local context. A fifth participant discussed why this is important to understand and argues that in Sweden, mobilisation has been reduced to liking a page on Facebook;

¹⁰ P1, P4, P5, P6, P8, P9, P10, P11, P12, P13

¹¹ P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P7, P10, P12, P13, P14

They also get a better understanding of the importance [...] of mobilisation when they return home. Others think like, sit on the board of an organisation [...], that seems pretty tiresome, you just press 'like' on Facebook... But yes, so they bring something back, the understanding of why you need to combine Facebook with mobilisation (P13, quote 1).

This is confirmed by Devereux's (2008:368) argument that in the long run, volunteering will increase solidarity among people, furthermore it ties into Enrichs' (2001) reasoning that volunteers become close to the local people, and therefore will understand the value of an including development approach. This is discussed by one participant who sees a shortage of young activists in Sweden and argues that the volunteer programmes could help them gain an understanding of the importance of mobilising and keeping the organisational culture alive. Seven participants describe a tendency of former volunteers becoming active members, which means that Devereux (2008) might be on the right track when saying that volunteerism nurtures solidarity.¹² According to Enrichs (2001), this can be explained by volunteers being guided by humanity rather than career, as volunteers are not yet professionally involved in the sending organisation and can remain critical towards it. Three participants further describe how former volunteers have decided to become active in the sending organisation after volunteering, some of them with the explicit goal to influence the programmes they visited, in some cases leading them to hold positions on the board.¹³

6.2.2 Communication

Documentation like photos or blogposts from volunteers' assignments are often used to communicate the projects of the receiving organisation, and it is something that seven of the participants gave as a very important reason for

¹² P1, P5, P6, P7, P8, P12, P13

¹³ P2, P8, P13

facilitating the programmes.¹⁴ Routines varied from having volunteer-blogs or letting them share their narratives in other ways during their time aboard, but often included organising seminars when they got back. What is more, this was argued by two of the participants as being the best chance for volunteers to actually make a difference, and one of them says:

the sharing of information in Sweden, this is often where you can make quite a big difference [as a volunteer], it might not be that you are making the biggest difference when you're there, so it is important that you actually have an interest [and] commitment to the issues, to make it easier to get involved in your assignment when you return home (P9, quote 2).

In this, volunteers have the chance to take part in updating the representation of the Global South, which is what Smith and Yanacopulos (2004) argues development professionals to be an important part of. In saying that 'the public faces of development do not exist in a vacuum', Smith and Yanacopulos (2004:660) acknowledge that each individual has an impact in the pictured they mediate, as they are influenced by their own perceptions. As Luckmann (2008:281) argues knowledge to be created in all social interactions, by conscious or unconscious memories becoming part of the human 'stock of knowledge', the way volunteers choose to describe their experiences will be of importance as it can become socially acknowledged truths through their audience in the Global North. As they were still visitors from the Global North during their volunteer assignment, it is important to position their descriptions as such so that further othering of the Global South is avoided (Said, 2000; Sheehi, 2001).

Although, even if they do position their experiences from the Global North, Mohanty (2003) would argue that their narratives will always be warped by their privileged positions and therefore never describe the true Global South. One participant argues along the lines of Mohanty (2003) and says that it is not

¹⁴ P1, P2, P3, P6, P8, P9, P12

possible for a person from the Global North to fully understand the reality of the Global South:

there is no timeframe in which a person from the Global North have the right to talk about a reality that they have not... I do not think so. But at the same time, it might be easier for a society, or the Swedish public can understand stories and experiences from [a local context] better if it is told by a person they can identify with. So there are two sides.... No, you do not have interpretative prerogative and cannot talk about this situation. But at the same time, maybe you are the best one to convey it to the audience. So that is... a crucial issue. And it's not easy, because I think that it is perhaps the most useful contribution [the volunteers] do is to challenge believes [in Sweden], based on their experiences. But at the same time they also give themselves the right to talk about something that they still do not have sufficient insight into (P7, quote 3).

Thus, as people tend to listen more to those they can relate to, it might actually be beneficial that the mediator is someone from the Global North so that the information will be as well received as possible. Four of the participants argue the information shared by volunteers to be valuable in the marketing of the sending organisations.¹⁵ Therefore it is relevant to consider Sholok's (2012) emphasises on the need for constant self-reflexivity, and the importance of acknowledging ignorance. Two participants in particular discuss the importance of guiding volunteers in this process, to help them understand their experience so they are able to mediate a picture free from prejudice. But the question remains if it is even possible to peel away all the prejudice, or if their privilege would still nurture blindness, as Mohanty (2003) argues.

Two other participants describe how the sending organisations educate volunteers in how to share information ethically, and exemplifies with the importance of naming the people on photos they publish. They teach volunteers the difference between telling and sharing a story, and how to give recognition to the people in these narratives. By understanding their own position, they can realise the

¹⁵ P2, P6, P13 , P14

difference between not knowing that you do not know, and knowing that you do not know, which will help volunteers to situate themselves within their communication (Sholock, 2012). A fifth participant also discussed this, and stresses that if important context is left out or not explained correctly, stereotypical images risk being reinforced instead of counteracted.¹⁶

6.2.3 Aims in Relation to the Receiving Organisation

Very few of the participants mentioned the receiving organisations as part of the purpose of the volunteer programmes. While this is understandable as they represent the sending organisations, the absence of the receiving organisations' point of views can still be telling, as it is something Hanson Pastran (2014) brings up as her main critique of voluntourism. She argues that to ignore the host communities and receiving organisations, is to indicate development to be a generous gift bestowed upon the Global South (Hanson Pastran, 2014:50).

The aim from Sida is not explicitly to benefit the receiving organisation or the development agenda (UHR, n.d), and it did not seem to be a top priority among the sending organisations either. Though, as participants gave certain aims of the programmes such as raising awareness, increasing interest in development cooperation and strengthening the connection between the sending and receiving organisations, it is evident that the receiving organisations are necessary for the programmes to be able to reach their aims. Seen from a post-colonial view, the absence of consideration of the receiving organisation can be argued to further the hierarchy that has been part of the development discourse for so long (McEwan, 2012). The aim is again constructed from Northern values that do not seem to be connected to the aims of the organisations in the Global South (Jönsson et.al., 2011). Especially considering that other aims of the program, such as

¹⁶ The importance of self-reflexivity among volunteers is further discussed in theme 4.

communication and a greater involvement of members in the sending organisation, seemingly have no connection to the receiving organisations.

Having said that, it is important to note that the receiving organisations are allowed to decline the offer to receive volunteers. Six of the participants describe how they send out a request to their development partners, who then fill in and return an application.¹⁷ This way, the receiving organisations are able to choose if they want to answer the request, and the sending organisation can determine if they are serious in their commitment. Thus, five of the participants argue it to be obvious that the receiving organisations benefit from the programmes, as they choose to answer the request.¹⁸

Nonetheless, there are multiple angles to consider and one participant argues that it is possible that they do not dare to decline the invitation. The North-South power relation may be lessened through these invitations, but another participant agrees that while the sending organisations may think it is an open invitation, the receiving organisations may feel obligated to accept as the invitation comes from a donor. The second participant says:

because I think that even though it is a partnership there are often someone giving, like a donor, and a recipient and [... the recipient] might not feel that they are in a position to say no, they are afraid to look bad, maybe they are worried they will lose their funding from this Swedish organisation, even if it has never been said, and we assure them that's not the case, it might still feel like they are at a disadvantage (P11, quote 4).

Therefore, the invitations could be argued to be sent out in 'false generosity' as the sending organisations are listening to the receiving organisation all the while keeping their power intact, as they have the money (Freire, 1996; Mawdsley, 2014). Whats more, a structural injustice needs to be present for the programme to be able to take place at all, as it requires the 'need' for volunteers. Thus, while the

¹⁷ P1, P2, P6, P9, P10, P12

¹⁸ P1, P4, P6, P9, P11

sending organisation's aim may be to counteract injustices, their volunteer programmes are still dependent on it remaining. When discussing this, one participant comes to the conclusion that really the only power the receiving organisation has would be to decline the offer, but as discussed above, this requires them to feel confident enough to do that.

6.3 Theme 2: Professionalisation of Volunteering

As mentioned, the term volunteer has been widely discussed and is often changed to avoid unprofessional associations (Devereux, 2008:359; Schech, et.al., 2015:359). In this study, most of the programmes' entitle all or some of their volunteers 'trainees', which they say enables them to recruit more qualified candidates and expect more qualified tasks, than if they would have sent volunteers. This way, the professionalisation of volunteerism seems to be part of the reason for the volunteer programmes continued existence.

6.3.1 *The Recruitment Process*

To find people willing to participate in the volunteer programmes is an easy task for the sending organisations, so much that they need a proper recruitment processes to find the best candidates. Six participants all describe how the receiving organisations send a sort of job description where the tasks of the future volunteers are stated, and what competences are needed by the volunteer to be able to perform those tasks.¹⁹ As Devereux (2008) argues the volunteers should be firstly accountable to the receiving organisation, and only secondly to the sending organisation in order to preform effective development volunteering, it seems reasonable for the receiving organisation to state their expectations. From the job descriptions, the sending organisation searches for candidates with the required

¹⁹ P2, P5, P6, P7, P9, P13

knowledge, and according to the participants the involvement of the receiving organisation in this step varies.

While this may seem simple enough, five participants discuss the complications of having a recruitment process for volunteers.²⁰ They argue that with age restrictions or required experience it is difficult to reach those that may actually be best suited for the assignment, both for personal gain and for professional purposes. One of the five participants argue that for the purpose of the programme, the ones without previous knowledge and experience might be the ones they actually want to reach:

there are many [candidates] that are actually, that really know their stuff of course. But it varies a lot, of course, and that's the point, everyone should be able to be part of things like this. It's not as if we point out someone who's like no, *you* have somewhat warped opinions about certain things, instead it might be them that we want to send maybe (P14, quote 5).

Either way, eight of the participants agreed that for the volunteering experience to be as professional as possible, the recruitment should be thorough and based on criteria set by the receiving organisation.²¹ This is, as mentioned, promoted by Devereux (2008), as it will ensure that the volunteer agrees with the receiving organisations' planned tasks, as well as their aims and approaches. Even so, two of the participants discuss how much to involve the receiving organisation. Though they agree it should be a common process, they argue that the sending organisations have criteria independent from that of the receiving organisation's. In their experience this is solved by letting the receiving organisation have a last say, meaning that they are presented with the candidate when the recruitment process is over. However, neither remembered a receiving organisation saying no to the chosen candidate, thus the question if they would dare to decline remains.

²⁰ P2, P6, P7, P12, P14

²¹ P2, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9, P12, P14

6.3.2 Volunteers or Trainees

The definition the UNV use for volunteers covers the participants in the Traineeship Programme,²² but even so they have chosen to label them differently. Sida previously offered state sanctioned volunteer programmes where volunteers stayed for years rather than months, and was not required to work in a professional setting. As the development agenda evolved they found that volunteers were not necessarily requested by the receiving organisations, and therefore this new program was founded. Here, the aim is instead for the trainee to develop knowledge from the local context, which is also what Ehrichs (2001) argues to be the best possible outcome of volunteer programmes.

As this was an overall change in the development agenda, it was not specific to Sida. Nine of the participants have experience working with volunteer programmes that have changed and are now described as trainee programmes (though not necessarily part of Sida's Traineeship Programme).²³ Thus, the language has changed the way volunteering is conducted. Considering Loomba's (2005) argument that the brutality of the colonial times has been exchanged to the refined and less obvious discourse, and the overall post-colonial focus on language being used to define knowledge (McEwan, 2014), the change could be meaningful. A similar example is the way Mawdsley (2014) describe the evolution from 'donor' to 'development partner,' which also signals a change in how the cooperation should be conducted.

Most participants agree, however, that the change of terminology has made it possible to accept more qualified volunteers, and to expect more professional tasks from the receiving organisations. Furthermore, the risk of volunteers being

²² 'activities undertaken of free will, for the general public good and where monetary reward is not the principal motivating factor' (United Nations Volunteers, 2015:xiv)

²³ P1, P3, P5, P6, P7, P10, P11, P12, P13

used as 'gap-fillers'²⁴ is lessened by the fact that the time slot of the volunteers is generally shorter than was usual before. Thus, they reach the mutual beneficial experience between the receiving organisation and the volunteer that Unstead-Joss (2008) describes, where the work of volunteers are both sought after and would not have been done if the volunteer had not been there. One participant says that:

I think we have taken a step where we [...] send out competent people who can be useful, [and] that our partner organisations might benefit from, I believe that's an important step [...] As a [volunteer] it's easier to arrive and become part of the organisation, which... removes some of the problems (P6, quote 6).

On the other hand, this view is not entirely shared by other previous researchers. Devereux (2008), though mainly positive to volunteering, argues that international volunteering is at its worst when used as professional stepping stone for young adults from the Global North. As the volunteer programmes can be argued to further the professionalisation of volunteerism, it becomes part of a system where volunteering is a necessary experience to have as a young adult from the Global North to be able to enter the development field professionally. In this Devereux (2008) is mainly in agreement with Freire (1996) who argues it to be insincere when the oppressors show sympathy but not true solidarity for the cause, and work to abolish oppression but continue to benefit from it. All in all, the professionalisation of volunteering seems to be considered a step to avoid the risks of furthering the colonial structures by sending unqualified volunteers. However, it can be argued to have the opposite effect when considered a professional experience, which means that the professionalisation may actually cause structures in which the Global North is using the Global South to 'boost' themselves to remain.

²⁴ 'Gap-fillers' is a term used to describe volunteers being used by the receiving organisation to fill a vacancy, instead of hiring needed personnel.

6.4 Theme 3: Volunteerism as Knowledge Development

As the aim of the Traineeship Programme is to strengthen the capacity among future development professionals, volunteering as knowledge development is something many participants discuss. It has also been mentioned by Smith and Yanacopulos (2004:661) who says that the aim of using volunteering as an education is to create an; 'understanding of development and global interdependence.'

6.4.1 Knowledge Development

Two participants agree that volunteering gives volunteers a concrete and important experience that will increase their knowledge about development cooperation, as well as a valuable professional experience that will help them in their career. Furthermore, it might give volunteers a practical understanding of their theoretical knowledge, and multiple participants argue that it is necessary to spend time in the Global South to understand the bigger picture of development cooperation, as it is not something that can be read in a book.²⁵ This correlates with what Scheh et. al. (2015:359) says about how volunteers' understanding of development can counteract ethnocentric ideas of development. Another participant continues to say that this is possible as volunteers are there without money, and without any power in the sending organisation. Therefore, the receiving organisations often understand that this is an opportunity to teach volunteers something useful, that can benefit both parts when the volunteer leaves. Be that as it may, seen through the eyes of Freire's (1996) 'generosity of paternalism' this is a way for the Global North to use the Global South simply as a tool in their educational belt. Thus, the Global North can be argued to expect the

²⁵ P1, P4, P7, P8, P10, P12

Global South to share their knowledge and educate volunteers, but as long as injustice prevails the Global South is kept out of the knowledge production (Freire, 1996; Silverstone, 2001).

One participant argues that by looking at the needs of the receiving organisations first, some of the problems can be avoided. Another agrees and says that it is very important for the volunteer to understand that they will be a part of the receiving organisation and that the sending organisation is only facilitating the programme, an argument also put forth by Devereux (2008). The volunteer should thus not be seen as a representative from the sending organisation. A third participant does not share this view, but instead argues that it can be rather harmful to think that volunteers will be part of the receiving organisation, as it is obvious that they come from a different context. This goes along the same line as Mohanty's (2003) emphasis on the importance of situated knowledges, as the volunteers' perspective will be from the Global North, they can never fully be a part of the receiving organisation. However, Freire (1996:32) argues that true solidarity *can* occur when the oppressors 'fight at the side of the oppressed,' which volunteers can be argued to do. Yet another participant describes how former volunteers have become completely absorbed by the receiving organisation, and started to distance themselves from the sending organisations:

Yes, absolutely, someone did go a little native...told us how stupid we were for having such high requirements on reporting and delivering of results and such, because "they actually work a lot here," [the volunteer] became very engaged and most likely thought it was all our fault, if there weren't any results and stuff like that. So yeah, that happens of course, that there are those who understands how difficult it is. And in a way that's good... (P2, quote 7).

Having said that, Freire (1996) continues his reasoning by saying that this means that the oppressors must fully give up their privileged positions, as they cannot both fight for a society without oppression and gain from it. This means that even if the volunteers do feel a connection towards the receiving organisation, they are

still dependent on the sending organisation as they have funded and organised the programme. Furthermore, as they are expected to go back to Sweden within six months they are still 'belonging' to the Global North, which means that they have not given up their privileges. Though, this does not mean that they do not learn. One participant argues that the meeting between volunteers and the local activists is one of true knowledge development:

[It is a] more vibrant political sphere, because it is still a matter of people's life. So you meet passionate people who, like, work around the clock for a certain cause... I mean, you meet people who do not have any opportunistic agendas with why they do what they do, they are fighting for justice. [...] You do not get paid to change the world, you know. You do not get paid to go up against the powerful. [...] I think it is a very healthy awakening (P5, quote 8).

In a social constructivist view, these meetings will indeed lead to knowledge being created (Luckmann, 2008:287), which for the purpose of knowledge development will be beneficial for both the Global North and Global South as this will add to a fairer representation. It can also be argued, however, that the meetings will not lead to the genuine connection described, as both parties are influenced by their previous knowledge (Kukla, 2000; Mohanty, 2003).

6.4.2 Cultural competence

When discussing volunteering in a larger sense, most participants agree that the cultural exchange of the volunteering experience is one of the main reasons for continuing the programmes. The knowledge gained by spending time in the Global South will be of importance no matter what the future holds for the volunteers, argues one participant:

many out there might not even work with development [...] but ends up in Sweden working with people who come from other countries, like with integration and migration issues. And this is a great experience to bring if you work with people from other countries, in Sweden as well, because there are so many aspects of cultural understanding and cultural clashes that makes you more suitable to work with these questions in Sweden [when experienced them]. [...] so whatever you work with if you come back to Sweden, even if it is... computer engineers or architects, this kind of experience can be of use in different ways (P9, quote 9).

This is also what Wilson and Musick (1999) claims in their argument that cultural competence is a sought after qualification. Another participant says that 'you are not aware of your own culture, and you will not be until you have left it and seen it from the outside, but it exists' (P13, quote 10). Thus, volunteering will help the individual to travel, in the sense both Freire (1996) and Mohanty (2003) discusses, and while Freire (1996) says it is not necessary to leave home physically, both participants argues that it is very difficult to stay at home and evolve a cultural understanding by yourself. The same participant continues 'to be stuck in a culture and be forced to change, it is tough but at the same time it is incredibly rewarding' (P13, quote 11).

Freire (1996) further argues that there are insights that only the oppressed can see, as the oppressors are blinded by their position. In this he is mainly in agreement with Mohanty (2003) saying that the marginalised have a unique position. One participant agrees and says that the experience of putting yourself in a situation where you are the minority, gives you invaluable insights:

just the experience of having to interact with people from a different culture for a longer period of time is really important, because it is an experience of the struggles and the advantages of how, well, one needs to adapt for it to work. And to gain that experience, you know how it works for yourself in that situation when you're exposed to culture shocks and so on (P3, quote 12).

Yet other participant agrees and says that when you put people in a multicultural setting, everybody grows. Though, two other participants stress that it takes a lot

more work than just putting a person in this context. This is confirmed by Freire's (1996) argument that simply putting someone in a multicultural context might not be enough, and without careful reflection consequences of inequalities can be dismissed as cultural differences. According to Simpson (2004) this is often what happens in voluntourism, where reflexivity is not part of the volunteering experience. However, as Ehrichs (2001) points out, volunteering can be a way to gain understanding of cultural contexts. One participant agrees with this and argues that the world is becoming more and more global, knowledge of the different struggles around the world will maintain solidarity and give perspectives. Two participants add that contrary to common beliefs, volunteers often become aware of the *likenesses* of contexts, as differences may be overstated in the process of 'othering' or dehumanising (Sheehi, 2001). They argue this to be something very important, as personal experiences can offer an alternative picture of the Global South and thus counteract lingering colonial discourses. One participant says that 'often it is really not that huge differences, we may have different conditions and live in slightly different ways and maybe not really take the same things for granted' (P12, quote 13).

Another aspect brought up by the participants is that the increase of volunteers' cultural competence can help the Swedish society with its social integration, as was mentioned in quote 9. Four participants argue that the respect and understanding of cultural differences will be transferred to the Swedish context, and volunteers will have a better understanding of the lives of marginalised in Sweden.²⁶ One of them argues that 'they are not afraid of these situations, of the strangers, because they have been strangers themselves' (P13, quote 14), and this will enable them to ease others' integration into Swedish society. Thus, it is interesting to look at Freire's (1996) concept of conscientization. Even if Freire focused mainly on the oppressed realising their oppression, it can be seen as a

²⁶ P1, P7, P9, P13

universal process that can be used in the Global North to lessen ignorance and ethnocentricity.

While this may be a positive outcome of the programmes, one participant argues that it should be seen as an effect rather than a goal, as these issues need to be addressed on a much higher level. Freire's (1996) argument about how he had to leave home to gain an understanding may be applicable here too, but in this case the participants' intention was never to reflect on their own context, but to look at something different, and then hopefully gain an understanding that will benefit them once back home again. Thus, a true journey of the mind was never the intention.

6.5 Theme 4: Issues with Volunteerism

Many aspects have been brought up as issues with volunteerism, and most of them involved either the old perception around volunteerism as an act to save the world, or issues of power that exists in the context of volunteerism. Both participants and previous researches, such as Enrichs (2001) and Smith and Yanacopulos (2004), argue that volunteers need to be conscious of their position in order to get a fair understanding of their experience and impacts. The understanding of 'what what one does does' is a complex process that requires constant reflection (Smith and Yanacopulos 2004:659).

6.5.1 Save the World

Five participants discuss the idea some candidates have about volunteering as a way to 'save the world.'²⁷ One of them says that in some cases during the recruitment processes of volunteers, they come across someone saying that they

²⁷ P5, P6, P7, P12, P14

would never consider volunteering if they only had selfish reasons, instead they claim to do it for the greater good of the Global South. Wilson and Musick (1999) says that while solidarity may be one motivation, they are often accompanied by self-serving ones, which Wilson and Pimm (1996) agrees with, but they add that volunteers might be reluctant to admit to the self-serving reasons being part of their motivation. Another participant says:

There are, of course, a lot of volunteers who want to go out and do something, that want to finally get something done that is greater than themselves and so on, save the world in some way. And this shows a motivation and an interest for solidarity and so on. But unfortunately it can also be a bit askew when they have an idea that they will save or help someone, because you include something else in that... Then it becomes part of the we-and-them perspective, and the volunteer has an expectation that... that they will contribute so much to something very big and be very important for a project. And sure they are important, but it's not always that volunteers feel like "oh now I've really made a difference on this project". (P14, quote 15).

In Freire's (1996) reasoning of oppressors being faced with their own position, and the privilege they have to give up in order to end oppression, this may seem as an oppression in itself for the oppressors. While volunteers might not be the oppressors of the world, they are part of a programme that works against oppression, but that would not exist had there been no oppression to work against, and this might be an uncomfortable realisation. One participant says that releasing ones own position in the world is a life long process, and even with preparation the culture shock will be there. Another participant adds that this is a privilege in itself to be able to realise your position, 'it is a great privilege when you go abroad like that, a privilege to the extent that you can, you will, see yourself in a different way, it's kind of like putting a mirror [in front of you]' (P13 quote 16).

Shollock (2012) remains optimistic that through reflection one may be able to realise ones position, and keep reflecting on it to avoid overconfidence. This is also brought up by some participants who discuss how to prepare volunteers for

issues of power and privilege before they go abroad. One of them argues that to teach volunteers about colonialism and lingering power structures will make them aware of these issues, and keep them reflecting on it during their stay. This view is not shared by everybody though, and another participant argues that while some preparation is necessary it will never be enough:

[one receiving organisation] said that 'you need to make sure that the next years [volunteers] do not think they are coming to save the world, we can not have it anymore.' That was very interesting. So like, after all the attempts to take these issues seriously, it is still the same (P7, quote 17).

Another participant agrees with the latter and says that it could never be enough, as the colonial history is not that far behind us, and people in parts of the Global South may still live with the scars; 'even if you might not have been here as a slave owners yourself, you will be from a privileged position, whose history has benefitted from the exploitation' (P5, quote 18). Thus the color of the volunteers' skin may carry a meaning that cannot be ignored. The participant continues:

I mean...the downside to white people working in local settings, uh, is that we are so totally unaware of our own privileged position and somehow that this white colonial sovereignty exists even if you do not believe it. And it manifests itself differently, but can be very disturbing to [the local people]. [They] have had their fair share of white people who think they know better. But it is something that we unfortunately are raised to believe, [...] that we are more civilized, that our political system is better, and especially the Swedes who have some sort of idea that we are not patriotic, we are so very patriotic that we are deceiving ourselves. [...] Why don't you do this and that and so on, when it really is one's own knowledge that... one's lacking knowledge about the new context (P5, quote 19).

While this view might be shared by Freire (1996) and Ehrichs (2001) in their arguments about oppression and economical dependency, Devereux (2008) disagrees in his argument about effective volunteering being possible by local contexts and North-South partnerships. One participant reasons along the lines of Devereux (2008) and argues that the idea that the receiving organisations would actually be intimidated by a person from the Global North is paternalistic in itself.

Another participant agrees and says that even though they are very careful to prepare volunteers for complex situations of power issues, some volunteers describe the situation as reversed:

Very often [the volunteers] rather express that it is quite difficult being young too...it's not always the power balance we are preparing them for, uh, manifests itself at all out there, [...] but instead it is quite difficult being young in this kind of context when it comes to being listened to and claim your space. So that, there is a balance there... (P3, quote 20).

Two of the participants said that the receiving organisations are often internationally active organisations that are used to a workforce where many different nationalities are represented. Although, one of them adds that this differs with each receiving organisation and the areas in which they work.

6.5.2 Volunteering is a Symptom

The issue of power relations is a question most participants agree to be one of the main issues with volunteering. Though, most also agree that it is not volunteering that is the cause of the issues, instead it is rather a symptom. Two of the participants can see problematic aspects of the concept of volunteerism, and one of them says that 'I believe the general idea of [the volunteer programme] is very problematic, that there are people from the Global North traveling to the Global South to get the opportunity to broaden their experience and knowledge' (P7, quote 21). The other one agrees in saying:

That there is a flow of Westerners going to other countries to like help, and work to strengthen a country where the majority live in poverty. I think that has some problematic aspects. Because there are other things which we could do to ensure that those countries did not have the development problems they have (P12, quote 22).

They continue to say that as the volunteer programmes are not the cause of these problems, nothing would be solved by simply ending them. Instead, one

participant argues that it is crucial for people in the Global North to become aware of their privilege and, as discussed before, it is almost impossible to do if not confronted with it. This is further discussed by another participant who says: ' the poverty reduction strategy may be [...] badly phrased. Why are poor people poor? How can poor people get out of poverty? I mean you are putting the weight on those who are marginalised to rise, instead of asking why it is unfair (P7, quote 23), which is a relevant point in the post-colonial analysis of the way the development discourse has been held. It becomes further pertinent when seen alongside Freire's (1996) thoughts on dominance as a theme of our time. He says that the oppressors will never understand the true necessity of a world free of oppression, thus they will keep the dominance to avoid revolution (Freire, 1996).

To lessen the unequal structures that volunteerism are part of, six participants express a wish to make programmes an exchange.²⁸ One participant describes how it is easier to tackle issues with power in their existing programme that offers exchange, as the point of the program is reciprocity. Another agrees and argues that even if volunteering is a fun and exciting experience, most young adults of the Global North already have a very privileged position with access to information that would be enough to understand the struggles of the world, therefore it would be an even more beneficial experience for those that do not share the privileged position. A third participant argues that if the Global North were to accept volunteers from the Global South into their everyday life, a true cultural exchange may be experienced and the structural inequalities may be hindered, instead of furthered.

²⁸ P5, P6, P7, P9, P12 , P13

6.6 Summary

This chapter has touched upon some of the many dimensions of how development professionals' perceive volunteerism. In a shorter perspective, it is perceived to strengthen the cooperation between the sending and receiving organisation, and hopefully the work volunteers perform will benefit the receiving organisation. Additionally, the volunteer programmes are expected to generate marketing material in some form, whether personal narratives, photos or blogs. In the longer perspective, the development professionals' perceive volunteering to lead to greater knowledge of development among young adults, thus creating a competent base of young development professionals to recruit from. Moreover, it will cause volunteers to acknowledge and reflect on the inequalities of the world, and encourage volunteers to become more active in the fight for equality, hopefully within the sending organisations. It is the development professionals' perception that volunteers will get further insights into their own position, and their self-reflection will be beneficial in the Swedish society, as it will counteract ethnocentrism and ignorance.

From the development professionals' perceptions of volunteering it is unreasonable to expect volunteer programmes to generate any major contribution to the development agenda. Instead, the aim of knowledge development for the individual volunteer should be seen as the goal. The participants are generally in agreement that the issues that exists in the programmes reflect the issues in the larger development agenda, thus for these to change the structure needs to be changed.

7. Discussion

In this chapter the results and analysis of this study will be discussed in a larger perspective, taking the chosen theories and what previous researchers have found into consideration.

7.1 Volunteerism as Part of the Development Field

As shown in the background and previous research chapters, volunteerism has been part of the development field for quite some time, and as the development field has evolved and reformed so has the volunteer programmes.²⁹ As they have followed the same paths it is therefore difficult to view volunteerism independently from the development field, and in accepting this premises, it becomes relevant to view how the Swedish development field facilitates volunteers.

Throughout this study, the relationship between the development field and volunteerism has been discussed. Even if the aim of the programmes are not explicitly to perform development work, the programmes are performed in a development setting and often guided by Sida. In that way, the development professionals in this study are somewhat in agreement with the previous research (such as Devereux, 2008) in saying that volunteerism can be viewed as a positive addition to development work, but that there are problematic aspects of it as well. Looking at development and volunteerism, it is difficult to avoid catching a glimpse of the inequalities necessitating them.

From a post-colonial perspective the previous development agenda is constructed from values of the Global North, so is volunteerism. Many development

²⁹ For the purpose of this chapter the development field should be understood as what traditionally has been described as development aid, not to be confused with what significant development exists without the influence of the Global North.

organisations today describe themselves as development partners, rather than donors, in an attempt to move away from the old top-down development approach. Parallel to this it is possible to observe the transformation from unqualified volunteers to trainees. As described in this study, the transformation between volunteers and trainees followed Sida's decision to change the unqualified volunteer programme after realising that the Global South did not require the kind of help unqualified volunteer programmes could offer, as the knowledge already existed locally. The realisation that local knowledge may be better than volunteers' knowledge sparked a new idea of knowledge development, where the tables are turned and the Global South is instead supposed to teach the now more qualified volunteers. This way the concept of volunteerism has not been discontinued, but rather reformed to better fit the current development idea. The reformation from knowledge spreading (unqualified volunteers teaching) to knowledge development (qualified volunteers learning) is a significant change. Even though they realised volunteers to be unwanted, the concept has continued to exist only now it is explicitly to benefit the volunteer. Seen from a post-colonial perspective this is worth considering, as volunteers are sent from the Global North to the Global South, with the aim to learn. Thus, the Global South is again expected to accommodate the wishes and 'needs' of the Global North, though still not benefitting from it. So, if this is the case, who determines what is needed?

In a social constructivist perspective, what is needed will always be dependent on who is determining the need (Luckmann, 2008). If seeing volunteerism as something created to meet a need, who determined that need? Seen from a post-colonial perspective where the Global North holds the power, they are in a position to determine the needs of others, as was discussed by Mohanty (2003). This being said, volunteerism has evolved, but the right to determine need is still located in the Global North, indicating a continuance of post-colonial structures. Furthermore, the process of 'othering' might have contributed to the need for

volunteering, and the colonial discourses kept the idea of the superiority of the Global North alive, the fact remains that if there were no injustices between the Global North and the Global South, there would be no need for volunteering.

This can be further discussed in relation to Freire (1996) and his claim that the oppressors will never understand the need to end oppression, and that the attempts that have been made to end oppression have been in false generosity. To determine the need of volunteerism could be argued to be done in false generosity, as it is done to further the knowledge development of the Global North, but for this to be possible a structure of inequality has to remain. Therefore, the generous gesture of volunteerism is not genuine, as it does not aim to end inequality.

This means that the need for volunteerism is constructed by and to benefit those with the power to do so. While the previous unqualified volunteers performed tasks for others, this 'improved' version still leaves those with the power intact. In Freire's (1996) argument he says that when the generosity of the oppressors are threatened, they become desperate. In realising that the way the previous unqualified volunteering was conducted, the Global North did not end the practices upholding the oppressive system. Instead, they reformed it to stop the knowledge spreading but instead focus on knowledge development - for themselves. This is further relevant to consider in relation to Freire's (1996) fake solidarity, where the oppressors are supposedly working to end oppression, but not wanting to give up their privileged position.

7.2 Volunteers as Oppressors

The assumption that the oppressors of the world are unable to liberate themselves or the oppressed, means that reformation needs to be brought forward by the oppressed (Freire, 1996). If assuming that the Global North constitutes the oppressors (as they have the power to put forth their agenda), it would mean that

the oppression could not be ended by development or volunteering, as is not initiated by the oppressed. Be that as it may, as the volunteer programmes contains more specific issues of power and hierarchy, it might not be that simple. While the need for volunteerism has been determined by the powerful Global North, the individual volunteer does not hold this power. Instead, for the duration of the volunteer assignment, the receiving organisation can be argued to have power over the volunteer. Thus, the volunteer ends up representing the oppressors as a person from the Global North, but have no power to oppress. Therefore, the simple assumption that to end oppression the oppressed need to claim power, may not be applicable here. As an alternative, the receiving organisation could decline volunteers altogether and thereby highlight the oppression, though there are no guarantees this would lead to ending it.

If agreeing with the premises that the volunteer represent the oppressors of the Global North, the power balance at the time of volunteering is further relevant to consider, in relation to the fact that many of the volunteer programmes in this study have the purpose of knowledge development. The volunteer will benefit from its privilege as part of the oppressors of the world, but at the same time have no power. However, they can still be assumed to be perceived as oppressors as they have not fully given up their privileges, since their purpose in being there is to learn and then go back again. So, is it necessary for the volunteer to give up their position as oppressors to be able to learn from the receiving organisation without hinderance? Freire (1996) would maybe argue that unhindered learning could only be possible if volunteers gave up all of their privileges as inhabitants of the Global North and thus fully became part of the receiving organisation. However, if this would actually be possible is doubtful seeing to Mohanty (2003), who might argue that a person cannot simple 'become' part of a marginalised group, which will be discussed further below.

Assuming that the volunteer needs to realise their position in order to enable knowledge development, the application of Freire's (1996) conscientization becomes both thought-provoking and complicated. As Freire's (1996) main idea was for conscientization to make the oppressed aware of their oppression and thereby cause them to revolt, it could be comprehended as the receiving organisations would understand their subjugation *through* the volunteers. This could be plausible if assuming that the receiving organisation both *is* subjugated *and* unaware of their subjugation. As this cannot be said within the scope of this study however, the tables have to be turned around once again. Thus, the conscientization process of volunteering could be argued to take place within the volunteer, who then becomes aware of their position as oppressors.

In this scenario it is important to remember that volunteers conscientization would happen within the scope of the volunteer programme, thus parallel to the knowledge development process, both of these processes happening in a context of oppression. The existing oppression will not be abolished to make room from the conscientization, instead it may be highly relevant as volunteers might have traits that categorise them as part of the oppressors, which can influence their experience. The realisation of being an oppressor is discussed by Freire (1996) and by the participants of this study. It is described as an uncomfortable process where the oppressor often deny their position, and therefore it can be shocking when confronted with it. It is however important to do, as failure to acknowledge your privileges will cause blindness, which will further the oppression rather than fight it according to Mohanty (2003).

7.3 Seeing or Knowing

The concept of situated knowledges can be applicable in regard to the communication goal of the volunteering programmes. In this wish for volunteers to communicate their experiences, it is implicit that they have developed

knowledge that others in the Global North do not have. Thus, this knowledge is admittedly obtained in the Global South and unavailable in the Global North, which means that it can be seen as an acknowledgement that knowledge specific to the Global South exists. This means that in the five months the volunteer spends in the Global South, some of this knowledge are supposed to be obtained and later on mediated.

As the knowledge obtained often consists of an abstract idea of a situation, rather than actual facts, it complicates it further. How volunteers have perceived their experiences will be influenced by the individuals previous knowledge, as discussed from a social constructivist perspective, and thus impossible to claim as a fair representative of the Global South. This is why Mohanty (2003) argues it to be important to situate the knowledge, so when volunteers present their experiences it is crucial to state that they are doing this from a Global North perspective. Through the aforementioned conscientization process the volunteer could be aware of their positions, and thereby it would be possible to reflect on their epistemic uncertainty Sholock (2012) argues is necessary to be aware of what they do not know.

This can still be problematic, however, as even when positioning the volunteers' narratives, the volunteers are mediating an incomplete picture of the Global South. As the knowledge in itself may be specific to the Global South, it may not even be possible for an outsider to understand. In Mohanty's (2003) Feminist-as-Tourist model she argues that the perspectives are rather used to complement the Global North's pictures and ideas, instead of radically changing them. In the retelling by the volunteer, this can be argued to be true as they are not capable of changing the discourse, as they have merely been tourists visiting the oppression. Furthermore, what means used to mediate the volunteer's experience will be of importance in what image is presented. The use of photos, expressions, or

narratives, will always be seen from an outside perspective, and might again contribute to othering of the Global South.

In addition to this, it is worth noting that as there are no exchange included in the volunteer programmes, the receiving organisations have no opportunity to reciprocate. This was something multiple participants in this study called for as they argued it could facilitate a more including knowledge development. Since the sending organisation has identified the need for volunteers from the Global North to learn and mediate the knowledges of the Global South, this could be argued to be applicable the other way around as well. Here again is Mohanty's (2003) Feminist-as-Tourist model of importance, as the lack of exchange may be seen as a way to keep the Northern knowledges intact by simply adding to them, instead of risking to be proven wrong. By not facilitating exchanges, the Global North can again be argued to facilitate the oppression. That being said, the oppressive structure would not be ended by including an exchange in the volunteer programmes, however, it could lessen lingering colonial structures.

8. Concluding Remarks

8.1 Conclusion

As volunteering may seem as actions of solidarity and generosity at first glance, their motives are rarely questioned, and the absence of money and power may seem as an insurance of their honest intentions. Appearances can be deceptive, however, as the absence of formal power and money does not necessarily guarantee true solidarity. Instead volunteerism has become a career move, and while it might be guided by generosity and honesty the outcomes can be the opposite.

Seen from the results of this study, volunteerism can be argued mostly mutual beneficial on an individual level. As the personal development of the volunteers will follow them through their lives, they will spread the obtained knowledge and cultural competes around them, and in a global world the distances will shrink and personal connections will contribute to this.

Though, it is important to view volunteerism on a higher lever than individual experiences as well, since failing to see the larger structure of the actions might be failing to acknowledge existing power structures. Volunteerism is a symptom of something larger, and therefore a simple termination of all volunteer programmes would not end the discussed oppression. Though, even if the termination of volunteerism would not *end* oppression, it does not mean that a continuance of volunteerism would not *further* the oppression. Therefore, in the words of Paulo Freire (1996:42-43), in order to 'authentically commit themselves to the people' a reexamination is needed and 'those who undergo it must take on a new form of existence; they can no longer remain as they were.'

8.2 Future Recommendations

As this study has been positioned from the sending organisations' perspective, the assumptions made about the receiving organisation cannot be considered facts. To get a comprehensive view of this topic all sides should be considered, thus it would be interesting to change viewpoint and study receiving organisations' perception of the volunteer programmes and their reasons for participating. Although, as this would need to be conducted in a local setting to avoid furthering the power structures, it might be that a study like that have been done. In addition to this, the volunteers have been discussed but not heard in this study. While there are plenty of research on the motivational factors for volunteers, it would be interesting to apply the same research questions and theoretical framework as has been used in this study on the perception of the volunteers. If seen together, these studies might offer a more thorough picture of volunteerism that would be interesting to consider.

Furthermore, to perform a similar study with participants representing sending organisations from multiple countries might yield some interesting results, as it is my belief that many of the participants have been influenced by their Swedish context. The different volunteer programmes have followed the Swedish development agenda, therefore it could be assumed that participants from different countries may be influenced by the political decisions of their country. Thus, it could lead to a discussion on how it is seen in the international arena, and how the Swedish volunteer programmes fit into the larger structure.

Another topic that would be of interest for further research is the use of situated knowledge in order to facilitate the struggle against oppression. While this is not directly related to the topic of volunteerism, the concept could be applicable depending on the design of the research, as well as in other settings where the voice of the marginalised could offer further insights.

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Appendix 1: Original Quotes

Quote 1: Så man får ju också en annan förståelse för behovet och liksom organisering när de kommer hem, de som varit ute. De andra de tycker sitta i en styrelse liksom, de verkar ju jobbigt, kan bara trycka på gilla på Facebook liksom, ja men det är ju så. Så det får med sig något hem där, förståelsen för varför man måste kombinera Facebook med organisation (P13).

Quote 2: för det är den här informations-spridningen i Sverige, det är ofta där du kan göra en ganska stor skillnad som praktikant, det är kanske inte så att du gör den störtats skillnaden när du är på plats, eh och man får se det som viktigt att man faktiskt har ett intresse, engagemang för frågorna, för att det ska bli enklare att engagera sig ordentligt i sitt informationsuppdrag när man kommer hem (P9).

Quote 3: för det finns inget tidsperspektiv där någon globala-nord-person kan få rätt att prata om en verklighet som en inte...det tycker jag inte. Samtidigt så kanske ett samhälle i, eller en svensk allmänhet kan ta till sig lättare historier och erfarenheter från [en], om det är en person som de själva kan identifiera sig med som berättar om det. Så det finns båda.... Nej, du har inte tolkningsföreträde att berätta om den här situationen. Men samtidigt, det kanske är du som kan förmedla den till mottagaren av informationen på bästa vis. Så det där är... (Skratt), en knäckfråga. Och det är inte lätt, för jag tänker att det kanske är det störta bidraget som praktikanter kan göra är att utmana föreställningar utifrån erfarenheter som de har med sig hem. Eller hem, tillbaka till Sverige. Men samtidigt blir det också att man tar sig rätt att prata om någonting som man fortfarande inte har tillräcklig inblick i (P7).

Quote 4: för jag tänker att även om det är ett samarbete så finns det ju generellt någon som ger liksom en donator och en mottagare och /.../ de kanske inte känner att de är i den positionen att de faktiskt kan säga att det passar inte för oss, att de är rädda att komma i dålig dager kanske att de är rädda att bli av med sitt bistånd och bidraget ifrån den här svenska organisationen, även om de aldrig har uttalats och även om ja, man försäkrar att det inte är så, så kan det ju även kännas så för dom att de faktiskt är i ett underläge (P11).

Quote 5: det är många som faktiskt, som är jättepåläsa naturligtvis. men det varierar jättemycket såklart, och det är ju meningen att alla ska kunna åka på sånt här, det är inte så att vi tar ut nån som ba nej DU har lite vittjade uppfattningar om vissa saker som absolut inte, utan det är dom kanske som vi vill skicka iväg kanske (P14).

Quote 6: tror jag vi har tagit ett steg där vi liksom skickar ut kompetenta människor som kan göra nytta, som partnerorganisationer får nytta av, det tror jag är ett viktigt steg [...] som praktikant kan du lättare komma in och bli del av organisationen, vilket...det bygger bort en del av problematiken (P6).

Quote 7: Ja absolut, nån gick ju lite native. Talade om för oss hur dumma i huvudet vi var som ställde så höga krav på rapporter och resultat och så, för “de jobbar faktiskt jättemycket här”, det blev väldigt engagerad och tycket väl att det egentligen var vårt fel alltihop, om det inte blev nåt resultat och sådär. Men eh, det händer ju, att det blir lite den här jaha nu förstår jag hur jobbigt det är. Och på ett sätt är ju det bra... (P2).

Quote 8: Nej men du vet här så möter man en [...] politik är mer levande för att det betyder liv liksom fortfarande. Så man träffar ju på eldsjälur som liksom kan jobba dygnet runt för en viss fråga, eller, så man möter folk som inte har några opportunistiska agendor med varför de gör som de gör, utan de kämpar för rättvisa. [...] Du får inte betalt för att förändra världen liksom. Du får inte betalt för att komma i kliché med makten. [...] Jag tror man får en väldigt hälsosamt uppvaknande liksom (P5).

Quote 9: många som är ute kanske inte heller ens jobbar med utvecklingsfrågor [...] utan man hamnar också i Sverige med att jobba med människor som kommer från andra länder till Sverige, asså integrationsfrågor, migrationsfrågor. Och att det här så är en superbra erfarenhet att ta med sig om man jobbar med människor från andra länder i Sverige också, för att det finns så många aspekter när det gäller kulturförståelse och kulturkrockar som gör att man på ett enklare sätt kan jobba med de frågorna i Sverige. [...] vad man än jobbar med om man kommer tillbaka till Sverige, även om man jobbar som ja...datatekniker eller arkitekt så kan ju en sån här erfarenhet, kan man använda sig av det på olika sätt så att man kan (P9).

Quote 10: Man är inte medveten om sin kultur, det går inte om man inte har gått ur den och ser den utifrån. Men det finns' (P13).

Quote 11: Att vara fast i en kultur och tvingas förändras, det är tufft alltså men samtidigt så är det ju otroligt värdefullt' (P13).

Quote 12: för att bara den erfarenheter att ha under en längre tid varit tvungen att samverka på ett eller annat sätt med människor från en annan kultur är jätteviktigt, för det är en erfarenhet av vilka svårigheter och vilka fördelar och vilka ja, hur man själv behöver anpassa sig eh, för att det ska funka liksom. Och att man har den erfarenheten, man vet hur man själv funkar i den situationen när man blir utsatt för kulturkrockar och så (P3).

Quote 13: för ofta är det inte jättestora olikheter egentligen, vi kanske har olika förutsättningar och bor på lite olika sätt och kan inte riktigt ta för givet samma saker' (P12).

Quote 14: de är inte rädd för såna saker, för det främmande, för de har varit främlingar själv' (P13).

Quote 15: det finns ju många volontärer som har den föreställningen såklart, att man vill ut och göra någonting. Äntligen får jag någonting gjort som är större än mig själv och sådär, och rädda världen på nåt sätt, och då, det visar ju på en motivation från volontären och ett intresse för att faktiskt, jag men av solidaritet och sådär, men det kan också tyvärr bli lite skevt när man har en föreställning om att man ska rädda/hjälpa någon annan. För då sätter man ju någon annan..då blir det lite det här perspektivet vi och dom som gör att volontären har en expectation, förväntning på att eh, man bidrar så mycket, man bidra med något väldigt stort och man är väldigt betydelsefull för ett projekt. Och visst är man betydelsefull, men det är väl inte alltid så att volontärer känner att ”åh nu har jag verkligen gjort en skillnad på det här projektet” (P14).

Quote 16: man får ett oerhört privilegium när man åker ut sådär, privilegium så till vida att du kan, du får se själv på ett annat sätt, det är ungefär som att sätta en spegel [framför dig] (P13).

Quote 17: [the reciving organisation] sa till att du måste se till att näsa kull praktikanter inte tror att de ska komma och rädda världen, vi kan inte ha det längre. Väldigt intressant. Så efter liksom alla försök att verkligen ta de här frågorna på djupet och på allvar, så är det fortfarande samma (P7).

Quote 18: även om man kanske inte har varit här som slavdrivare själv så kommer man liksom från en privilegierat plats, vars gemensamma historia har tjänat på exploateringen här (P5).

Quote 19: Asså... baksidan med när vitingar är ute i fält, eh, är ju att vi är så totalt omedvetna om vår egen privilegierade position och på nåt sätt att den här vita koloniala överhögheten finns där även om man inte tror det. Och den kommer till uttryck i olika former men det kan irritera folk ganska gravt här. Afrikanerna har ju liksom haft sin beskärda del av vita människor som tror sig veta bättre. Men det är nånting som vi tyvärr blir uppvuxna med. [...] Vi tror att vi är mer civiliserade, att våra politiska system är bättre, och särskilt som svenskar som har någon slags uppfattning om att vi inte är patriotiska, så himla patriotiska att vi lurar oss själva liksom. Det är det här hemma på min gata, varför gör ni inte si och så liksom, när det egentligen är ens egen kunskap som... ens egna kunskapsluckor om den nya kontexten (P5).

Quote 20: ...väldigt ofta uttrycker snarare att det som ung är ganska svårt att...det är ju inte alltid den maktbalansen så som vi pratar om den innan, eh, manifesterar sig över huvudtaget på plats ute, [...] Utan snarare att det är ganska svårt som ung i den här typen av kontext när man kommer ut att bli lyssnad på och få utrymme. Eh. Så att de, det finns en balans där... (P3).

Quote 21: i hela grunden med praktikantprogrammet i stort tycker jag är jätteproblematiskt, att det är människor från globala nord som reser till globala syd och får möjlighet att vidga erfarenheter och ny kunskap (P7).

Quote 22: Att det finns ett flöde av västerlänningar som åker ut i andra länder för att liksom hjälpa till, jobba för, stärka eh, för ett land som, där majoriteten lever i fattigdom. Jag tycker att det ligger en problematik i det liksom. För att det finns andra saker då som vi hade kunnat göra för att se till att de länderna inte hade den utvecklingsproblematik som de har (P12).

Quote 23: 'fattigdomsbekämpningsstrategin är väl lite [...] felställt. Varför är fattiga fattiga? Hur kan fattiga ta sig ur fattigdom? Asså man lägger över hela oket på att den som är marginaliserad att resa sig, istället för att fråga varför det är orättvis (P7).

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Information

Namn:

Anställd på:

Position:

T1. Att arrangera volontärresor.

1.1 Har du arbetat med volontär/praktikprogram?

- *Ja:*

1.2 Vem initierade volontär/praktikprogrammen initierat?

1.3 Vad är huvudsyftet med volontär/praktikprogrammet?

1.4 Vem finansierar volontär/praktikprogrammet?

1.5 Hur är volontär/praktikprogrammet designat?

Var åker volontärerna?

Vilka uppgifter har de?

Vem bestämmer dessa?

Vem handleder dem?

Finns det ett utbyte, så att volontärer även kommer till Sverige?

Varför/inte?

1.6 Hur ser rekryteringsprocessen av volontärer ut?

Vilka kriterier krävs av deltagarna?

1.7 Genomgår volontärerna någon utbildning innan de åker?

Varför/inte?

Om ja: Vad innebär denna? Vad är meningen med den?

1.8 Har volontärerna några förbindelser under deras resa?

Varför/inte?

Om ja: Vad innebär denna? Vad är meningen med den?

1.9 Har volontärerna några förbindelser efter deras resa?

Varför/inte?

Om ja: Vad innebär denna? Vad är meningen med den?

1.10 Har du stött på några problem när du har arrangerat volontär/
praktikprogram?

Vilka då?

T2. Kunskapsskapande.

2.1 Ofta i den tidigare forskningen jag läst anges kunskapsutbytet som sker i dessa program som ett av huvudsyftena. Skulle du säga att volontärerna förvärvar kunskap under volontär/praktikprogrammet?

- *Ja*:

Kan du ge exempel på vilken kunskap som fås?

Hur mäts det?

Tillför denna kunskap den sändande organisationen något?

Är volontärande det enda sättet att skaffa den kunskapen?

- *Nej*:

Vad är då anledningarna till att volontära?

2.2 Skulle du säga att värdorganisationerna förvärvar kunskap under volontär/
praktikprogrammet?

- *Ja*:

Kan du ge exempel på vilken kunskap som fås?

Hur mäts det?

Tillför denna kunskap värdorganisationen något?

Är dessa program det enda sättet för dem att få tillgång till den kunskapen?

- *Nej*:

Vad är då anledningarna till att de tar emot volontärer?

2.3 Har volontärerna som åker kunskap som är av värde för värdorganisationerna?

2.4 Finns det olika faktorer som påverkar hur värdefull volontärens upplevelse blir?

2.5 Skulle du säga att volontärande ökar den interkulturella kompetensen?

- *Ja:*

Hur tar sig detta i uttryck?

Hur är detta fördelaktig för värdorganisationen?

Hur är detta fördelaktig för den sändande organisationen?

Hur är detta fördelaktig för volontären?

Hur kan denna kunskap vara av värde för utvecklingsbranschen?

- *Nej:*

Är det en önskvärd konsekvens?

Om ja: Vad behöver förändras för att det ska uppnås?

T3. Volontärer inom utveckling.

3.1 Vilka anledningar finns det att arrangera volontär/praktikprogram (av sändande organisationerna)?

Hur relateras detta till utvecklings agendan?

3.2 Vilka anledningar finns det för värdorganisationer att ta emot volontärer/praktikanter?

Hur tas detta reda på?

Vilken kunskap är det volontärerna kommer med som lokala befolkningen inte har?

Är volontärer det enda sättet att komma åt den kunskapen?

3.3 Hur bidrar volontär/praktikprogram till utvecklingsagendan?

3.4 Skulle du anse volontär/praktikprogram en värdefull erfarenhet när du söker jobb inom utvecklingsbranschen?

Varför?

Om ja: Vad är det fd-volontärer har som icke-volonäterer inte har?

3.5 Tror du att volontärande ökar individens kunskap om utveckling?

3.6 Sida skriver på sin hemsida att de erbjuder volontär/praktikbidrag för att ”främja intresset hos yngre akademiker att i framtiden söka tjänster inom internationella organisationer som arbetar med frågor som berör det svenska utvecklingssamarbetet.”. Tror du att det är det som blir resultatet av volontär/praktikprogrammen?

Hur är volontär/praktikprogrammen relevant för att främja intresset?

Vilka andra sätt finns det att skapa intresse för utveckling?

3.7 Kan du ge ett exempel på en situation där kunskap från volontär/praktikprogram är relevant för utvecklingsbranschen?

Hur skulle den situationen hanteras olika av fd-volontärer och icke-volontärer?

3.8 Hur bidrar volontär/praktikprogram till utvecklingsbranschens agenda?

3.9 Har du själv deltagit i internationella volontär/praktikprogram?

- *Ja.*

När var det?

Var var det?

Vad gjorde du?

Hur var din upplevelse?

Rekommenderar/-de du andra att göra det?

Var det en faktor när du bestämde dig för att fortsätta inom utveckling?

Hur har det påverkat din karriär?

- *Nej.*

Övervägde du det?

Varför valde du att inte göra de?

Har det påverkat din karriär inom utveckling?

T4. Konsekvenser.

4.1 Övergripande, hur kan volontär/praktikprogram vara positivt för sändande organisationer/utvecklings branschen?

värdorganisationer/samhällen?

volontären/praktikanten?

Kan du berätta om ett framgångsrikt program?

4.2 Övergripande, hur kan volontär/praktikprogram vara negativt för sändande organisationer/utvecklings branschen?
värdorganisationer/samhällen?
volontären/praktikanten?
Kan du berätta om ett mindre lyckat program?

4.3 Är dessa för- och nackdelar något som diskuteras inom sändande organisationerna?

Hur påverkar diskussionerna programmen?

Vilka inkluderas i dessa diskussioner?

4.4 Förmedlas dessa för- och nackdelar till volontären?

4.5 Hur hanteras volontärens roll i kontakt med volontären?

4.8 Hur ser ni på maktbalanserna som uppstår i dessa samarbeten?

Mellan sändande organisation och värdorganisation?

Mellan volontären och den sändande organisationen?

Mellan volontären och värdorganisationen ?

Vilka åtgärder finns för att hantera maktbalansen?

4.6 Hur mäts konsekvenserna av volontär/praktikprogrammen?

Vad görs med resultaten?

Hur inkluderas värdorganisationen i dessa mätningar?

Vilken hänsyn tas till samhället?

Avsluta med övergripande fråga och tillfälle att tillägga något.